

Dr. Pierre **BASTIEN**
The coinage issued by the Lyons mint in 293 and 294 AD
Translated from French by Dane Kurth ("Helvetica")

Note from Dane: The text was translated from the original French. Wherever possible, I have merged the original footnote information into the body of the text to save the reader continually scrolling down. Some footnotes have been omitted. Unfortunately I am unable to include the plates for copyright reasons.

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For a very long time, Otto Voetter's work *"Die Kupferprägungen der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie"*, Vienna, 1901 and *"Die Münzen der römischen Kaiser, Kaiserinnen und Caesaren von Diocletianus bis Romulus, Katalog Sammlung Paul Gerin"*, Vienna 1921, served as a base to determine the chronology of the coinage struck by the Lyons mint before Diocletian's reform.

Notably, Voetter placed 295 AD as being the last year in which antoniniani were struck in Lyons, an opinion later shared by Percy H. Webb (RIC, London, 1933).

On the other hand, Karl Pink on page 21 of his *"Die Silberprägung der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie"*, in *"Numismatische Zeitschrift"* 1930, changed the period to 293 for Trier and Lyons, the reform in these two mints having taken place, according to him, at the end of 293 to 294.

Lately, numerous works have been dedicated to the question of the coinage reform, especially with regard to their metallic, economic and psychological aspects. Such works include those by G. Mickwitz, L.C. West, C.H.V. Sutherland and J-P. Callu.

Herbert A. Cahn, in *"La date de la Reforme monétaire de Diocletian"* in the *"Bulletin Soc. franç. Numism."*, Nov. 1954, pp 307-308 and *"Die Trierer Antoniniani der Tetrarchie"* in the *"Schweizerischen Numismatischen Rundschau"*, XXXVII, Bern 1955, pp 5-22, was very keen on the idea of precisely determining the date of the reform in the Gallic mints. His research was primarily aimed at Trier and resulted in the same conclusions as K. Pink.

Nevertheless, it seems doubtful that the reform was able to take place in Lyons at the end of 293. In fact the last series of antoniniani issued by this mint, in the mint's typical short legends style, was certainly struck in 294 AD.

We shall study the various arguments which support this hypothesis, the principal argument being the existence of quite a number of consular busts of Constantius and Galerius, consuls in 294, struck as part of this series.

293 was a particularly important year in the reign of Diocletian: the fifth consulate of the principle Augusti and the 4th consulate of his colleague Maximian; the nomination of the Caesars on the 1st March; the celebration of the *decennalia* from 17th September; Constantine's victorious campaign against Carausius, who lost Boulogne and his possessions in Northern Gaul. These events were translated into issues of coinage and thus facilitate their classification.

The series of antoniniani with A, B and C in the exergue on **IOVI AVGG** (Jupiter seated left), **AEQVITAS AVGG**, **PIETAS AVGG**, **FELICIT PERP**, **PAX AVGG**, **VIRTVS AVGG** and **COMES AVGG** were certainly issued in 292 AD (Ref: Voetter, pp 58-59).

However, the **AEQVITAS AVGG** reverse is associated with consular busts of Maximian. In RIC, Webb mentions one (RIC 348) from officina C, without any reference of where the coin was seen. The Cabinet des Médailles du Musée de Lyon has one from the second officina, B. The issue was therefore prolonged to the beginning of 293 AD.

The true 293 AD issue probably began with the series marked with a ★ or ∪ (star or crescent).

We only see symbols on the antoniniani of Diocletian and Maximian, except on one coin of Constantius which was added subsequently. The striking of these coins must have been made before 1st March, the date of the Caesars' nominations.

Three officinae, A B and C were in use. The third only produced consular busts. The legends used resumed with **IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG, IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG, IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG AND IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG.**

Some coins do not have the officina mark, but instead have a ★ and ∪ in the exergue. Others have a very varied combination of officina letters, ★ and ∪ - the letters and symbols appearing sometimes in the field, sometimes in the exergue, or side by side in the exergue.

The reverses with ★∪ are continuations of two types from the preceding issue: **PAX AVGG**, Pax standing left holding Victory on globe in her right hand and a sceptre in her left, and **IOVI AVGG**, Jupiter seated left. But above all, the mint used a new type of reverse: **PAX AVGG** with Minerva standing left holding a palm branch, a spear and resting her hand on a shield.

To this series, one must relate the dated pieces with the legend **PM TRP VIII COS IIII P**, with a radiate lion walking left, holding a thunderbolt in its mouth, struck by the two first officinae with mintmarks ★A, A★, ★B and B★ in the exergue. These antoniniani have the busts of Diocletian or Maximian. Voetter very justly remarked that Diocletian's fourth consulate dated to 290 AD, so the legend on the reverse could only refer to Maximian, the Augustus who controlled the Lyons mint, but he does make two errors in classifying these antoniniani to 292 and in dissociating other coins marked with a ★ or ∪, for reasons of style.

The "style" argument seems insignificant. In actual fact you can distinguish two types of bust, one larger than the other, but of a very similar style, any differences of which could be explained simply by a different interpretation on the part of the engravers.

The year of their issue can only have been 293, that of Maximian's fourth consulate. We only need to know whether this was successful, i.e. his eighth term as a tribune.

The question of tribunal powers of Diocletian and Maximian is still the object of discussion. The actual date of their renewal remains ignored, even though 1st January seems very probable.

The starting date of Maximian's tribuneship must have been the 1st April 286 AD (Seston places it in March 286), the date of his association with Diocletian, defined by the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*. The renewal would have taken place on 1st January 287 (**TRP II**), 1st January 288 (**TRP III**), etc. But the legends after 293 give Maximian a tenth tribunal title in 294 and increases the number by one in each subsequent year. In his *Cours de Epigraphie Romaine*, R. Cagnat concluded that after 294, Maximian counted his tribunal position beginning with 285.

In the first hypothesis (beginning on 1st April 286), Maximian would have been **TRP VIII COS IIII** at the beginning of 293 and the second hypothesis (beginning in 285) would have made him **TRP VIIII COS IIII**. This second suggestion must be rejected. Why would Maximian fix his first period as tribune to a time one year before his accession as August ? So the first solution remains. It implies, W. Seston, in his "*Diocletian et le Tétrarchie*", (1945), writes, that Maximian was a "double tribune" before the end of 293.

He believes that one renewal took place on 17-19th September 292 (**TRP VIIII**) and another on 1st January 293 (**TRP VIIII**).

Now, coins dated **PM TRP VIII COS IIII P P** definitely indicate that Maximian was **TRP VIII COS IIII** between 1st January and 1st March 293. His position as tribune therefore indeed began from 1st April 286 and the "double tribune" could only have taken place between 1st March 293 and 1st January 294.

So which date should we use ? 1st March, the date of the Caesars' nomination? Or more likely the 17th September, the anniversary of Diocletian's accession which, as we know, was also

that of his colleague ? Obviously, the problem cannot be solved with certainty at the present level of our knowledge.

A final question concerns the significance of the two symbols: the ★ and the ∪. Their cosmic significance appears clear: they represent the sun and the moon.

Are they the symbols of the lunar-solar immortality applied to the Augusti ? Are they a reference to Apollo and Diana, the god and goddess of secular ritual, thus announcing that it is the *Saeculares* being celebrated, not in 293, as P. Le Gentilehomme ("*Les Jeux Séculaires de 293*") and W. Seston suggest, but more likely in 294, perhaps having been decided upon after the solar eclipse on 4th May 292 which was visible in its entirety in North-West Gaul ?

Or are they affirming, on the eve of nominating the Caesars, the divine character of Diocletian and Maximian ?

We can only guess. It is a different thing, however, for the reverse with the radiate (solar) lion with the thunderbolt in its mouth. This reverse, used for the first time by Caracalla, is always seen with a dated legend and is seen on coins of other emperors, e.g. Probus. It almost certainly relates to the idea of *Aeternitas*.

Dating to 1st March or a little later, give or take a week, is, according to W. Seston the accession of Galerius, which resulted in antoniniani issues having reverses communal to the Augusti and Caesars with the marks A, B or C in the exergue, or C in the right field.

(Note: Not every type of reverse was used for each of the Tetrarches. Perhaps no examples have been found yet. In any case, in our list further below we can only note the coins known to exist, avoiding any coins thought up by vivid imagination. Thus it is very possible that certain reverses were reserved for one single, or for two Tetrarchs, e.g. the **ROMAE AETERNAE** reverse for Constantius.)

This is particularly noticed on the **PROVIDENTIA DEORVM** and **CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM** reverses. Some of them celebrate the **VIRTVS AVGG** and others, **PAX AVGG** (Minerva standing left).

These officina letters are sometimes missing. On a small number of antoniniani, probably struck at the beginning of the issue, on the accession to the Caesarship of Constantius and Galerius the mintmarks were replaced by a club or a thunderbolt.

The club appears on coins of Galerius, the thunderbolt on those of Maximian and Constantius. Exceptions concerning antoniniani were on those of Maximian's reverses **VIRTVS AVGG** and **HERCVLI AVGG** (Hercules standing right, holding bow), marked with a C in the left field and a club in the exergue (Catalogue below, nos. 35 and 36) and the Denarii of Diocletian (Cohen 170, Catalogue below no. 40), and of Maximian (Cohen 12, Catalogue no. 40) marked with a thunderbolt and club respectively.

Voetter wonders whether the thunderbolt and club refer to the dynasties of Zeus and Hercules. On the other hand one could see them as tokens of the intimate union of the members of the Tetrarchy.

As to legends, those of the Augusti remained unchanged, whilst those of the Caesars displayed their long titles: **FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C** and **GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C**.

One antoninianus in the Gerin Collection (Voetter, p. 170, no. 1) is a coin of especial interest. This is the only coin known with the legend **FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES**. In addition, the reverse, **CONCORDIA AVGG**, has **BU** in the exergue, thus resuming the crescent of the preceding issue. This exceptional coin appears to be a test coin, struck on the accession of Constantius as Caesar but which was not admitted as a series.

On the 17th September 293, the Augusti began the tenth year of their reign. This date corresponds with the *dies imperii* of Diocletian. Maximian, not having, as we know, a distinct *dies imperii*, was still associated with his colleague for votive celebrations. Diocletian still affirmed his

own primacy by allowing Maximian a consulship, the position of tribune and an imperial salutation. (See table below).

The date of 17th September must also correspond with the antoniniani issue with the **VOTIS X** reverse, showing the two Augusti sacrificing beside an altar.

These coins, struck in the third officina are sometimes marked with the mintmark **C** in the exergue but more often have no marking whatsoever,

Most of them show a consular bust of Diocletian and of Maximian. There are four different legends for Diocletian and two for Maximian.

Voetter classifies these coins as issues of 291, but this is impossible. Diocletian and Maximian were consuls only in 287, 290, 293, 303 and 304.

H. Mattingly ("*The Imperial Vota*" in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 36) believes that they were struck in 286. He in effect dissociate the coins inscribed **VOTA X**, issued, in his opinion, from the beginning of the reign, from those inscribed **VOTA X MVLTA XX**, issued during the course of the tenth year. This interpretation, contradicted by the style of the antoniniani, which differs absolutely from the style on the issues of 286, in no way agrees with known facts.

It seems more likely that, in the period covered by this document, the **VOTA X** correspond to the *Vota X soluta*, the **VOTA X MVLTA XX** to the *Vota X soluta and Multa XX suscepta*. So they cannot have been engraved before the beginning of the tenth year of the reign.

Besides that, the two types could be from the same issue and the same series, for example similar to part of the third issue of antoniniani struck in Trier, where **VOTIS AVGG**, **VOTIS X** and **VOT X M XX** are associated to each other.

To the antoniniani we also need to add the bronze denari and quinari with the reverses **VOTIS DECENNALIBVS** and **VICTORIA AVGG** (Victory inscribing **VOTIS X** on a shield).

The issue which followed differentiated itself from its predecessors by means of the officina marks **I**, **II** and **III** in the exergue. The style of the portraits was little modified, the smaller bust types were rarer than their large bust type counterparts. The Tetrarchs retained the titles of the preceding series with two exceptions: **MAXIMIANVS PF AVG** and **CONSTANTIVS NOB C**, short legend versions which were to become the rule the following year.

The engravers resorted to the reverses issued since the nomination of the Caesars, **PROVIDENTIA DEOR**, **CONCORDIA AVGG** to those of the issues of 292: **IOVI AVGG** (Jupiter seated), **PAX AVGG** (Pax standing left holding Victory on globe and sceptre) and to others used in previous issues: **SALVS AVGG**, perhaps **VICTORIA AVGG** (mentioned by Voetter according to Banduri, for Diocletian. The coin does not, however have any reference and the absence of any coin known of this type, makes its existence doubtful), **VIRTVS AVGG** - a common type displaying two classical scenes: Hercules standing right holding a bow and leaning on a club; Mars standing left, holding olive branch and spear, and leaning on shield.

Two reverse types deserve special attention: **ADVENTVS AVGG** which indicated the presence in Lyons, at the end of 293, of the Augusti or more likely of Maximian on his own, and **SAECVLI FELICIT**, not struck at the mint since the accession of Diocletian, which announced the next issue as being consecrated to the *Saeculares*.

The presence of the consular bust of Maximian and the absence of consular busts of the Caesars, allows us to date this issue to 293, after September.

The numerous **VIRTVS AVGG** and **PAX AVGG** (Pax with Victory of globe) types of antoniniani certainly refer to the victory of Constantius over Carausius, chased out of Boulogne and his large continental bridgehead shortly before.

The next issue displayed very special characteristics.

Henceforth the officinae letters in the exergue were replaced by Greek letters: **A, B, Γ**.

The engraving work was very sloppy. An A could easily be taken for a B, the B frequently looked like a D with a short bar across it or with a dot in the centre. If the bar or the dot is poorly visible, then the two letters are often easily confused.

The reading of such poor engraving led certain numismatists (amongst them P. Le Gentilhomme, citing Emile Lepaulle in 1883) to confirm the existence of a fourth officina, closed down since 289 AD but this would have had the officina letter Δ in the exergue.

Most of the obverses resembled those from the preceding issue, but more poorly engraved busts were the order of the day. Consular busts with small, almost schematic heads of very mediocre artistry marked a clear regression in comparison to those of 293.

This can probably be explained by the intervention of new engravers, or by the introduction of one chief engraver in a mint which was being fully reorganised.

In fact, you notice that although the first two officinae were working abundantly, the same cannot be said of officina Γ, whose output seems insignificant. Apparently the staff of the fourth officina of Lyons, inactive since 289, and some of the staff of the third officina, had just been transferred to Trier (Ref: K. Pink p. 21-24; H.A. Cahn, "*Die Trierer Antoniane*"; Bastien, "*Le problème des folles sans marque....*").

At the start of the issue, the titles copied those of the I, II, III mintmark group but very soon they were contracted to **DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG, MAXIMIANVS PF AVG, CONSTANTIVS NOB C** and **MAXIMIANVS NOB C**.

One innovation was the use of dots separating the legends of the Augusti: **DIOCLETIANVS • P • F • AVG, MAXIMIANVS • P • F • AVG**, the dots were probably meant to mark a certain series within an issue.

Certain reverse types reverted to themes of previous issues. **ABVNDANT AVGG, SALVS AVGG, COMES AVGG, VIRTVS AVGG** (Mars), **AEQVITAS AVGG**.

Others, those consecrated to Pax, represented her standing left holding palm branch and sceptre, (**PAX AVGG**), or walking left with the same attributes, (**PAX AETERN**). These new types definitely glorified Pax acquiring Gaul after the defeat of Carausius and of the Frisons.

VNDIQVE VICTORES, VIRTVS AVGG (Mars) and **VIRTVS AVGG** (trophy between two captives), the latter struck henceforth uniquely for Constantius, certainly referred to the same events, as did **SECVRIT AVGG** and **LAETITIA AVGG**.

For the first time in Lyons since the accession of Diocletian, the reverse type **ORIENS AVGG** (Sol standing left) appeared.

An entire group of coins was dedicated to the *Saeculares*: **ROMAE AETERNAE** (Roma seated left), **AETERNITAS AVGG** (elephant walking left) and **SAEVLARES AVGG**.

Finally, some antoniniani displayed the *Vota XX suscepta* with **VOTA X M XX** within a wreath.

Some denarii and quinarii with **PAX AVGG, SECVRIT AVGG, SALVS AVGG**, and **AETERNITAS AVGG** were added to the antoniniani of this issue. These generally represented the emperor, laureate, either as a naked bust or cuirassed, to right. One denarius with the reverse **SAEVLARES AVGG** shows the bust of Maximian, laureate **and draped, facing**.

Some quinarii used the laureate head, a precursor of the folles of the reformed coinage.

The denarii and quinarii are very rare. They must have been struck in large enough numbers, but, as always, these fragile and seldom listed pieces almost entirely escape us. In addition, the attribution to the Lyons mint can only be established by the reverse type, or the style of the portrait, and very often the poor condition of coins examined makes the attribution difficult or even impossible.

The subject of the *Saeculares* demands our particular attention.

J. Gagé ("*Recherches sur les Jeux Séculaires*", Collège d'Études Latines, Série Scientifique, 1934) has clearly defined the classical Secular Games. This was the periodical series of Games defined by Augustus, which took place in ritual cyclic periods of 110 years and to which belong the Games of Domitian and Septimius Severus - celebrating the anniversary of the founding of Rome at which time a "century" was defined as being 100 years. Also belonging to the series of games, were the Games of Philip I, celebrated in 248 and marking the Millennium of the *Urbs*.

Hadrian, following the foundation of a temple of Venus and Rome, or *Templum Urbis*, fixed the date of the festivities on 21st April, when one celebrated both the *Natalis Urbis* by circus games and the commemoration of the *Templum Urbis* by sacrifices.

Thus was born a new secular mysticism linked to the eternity of the *Urbs*. However, it appears that the last true Games were those ordered by Philip I.

The *Saeculares* mentioned on coins of Gallienus, Carausius, Diocletian and Maximian simply express the notion of Aeternitas as applicable to Rome and its emperors.

J. Gagé hazards the date of 1050 (=297) for the *Saeculares* of Diocletian and Maximian. P. Le Gentilhomme proposes 293. According to him, they commemorated, "the *saeculum* which just opened the foundation of the Tetrarchy, 21st April 293 according to the *Chronicon Pascale*, that is to say, the day of the *Natalis Urbis Romae*".

W. Seston, even though he does not accept the date of 21st April for the foundation of the Tetrarchy, also fixes the *Saeculares* in 293.

One of the arguments of P. Le Gentilhomme and of W. Seston is that Carausius could only have issued his **SAECVLARES AVG** coins in 293, parallel to those of the Tetrarchs. This theory evidently overlooks every subsequent minting after Carausius disappeared from the picture at the end of 293.

But P. H. Webb studied the Linchmere hoard and fixed its burial to 290, precisely basing his information on one dated coin from the Camulodunum with the reverse **SAECVLARES AVG COS IIII**. In "*The British Empire*" he also writes, "*Carausius celebrated secular games in 290*".

More recently, R.A.G. Carson in "*The mints and coinage of Carausius and Allectus*", *Journal of the Archaeological Assoc. Third Series, Vol. XXII, 1958*, in a serious study of the mints of Carausius and Allectus, has moved the antoniniani issues with **SAECVLARES AVG** legends and **MC** (in exergue) mintmarks to 287 and those with **SMC** (in exergue) mintmarks to 288.

There is therefore no parallelism between the Gallic and the Britannic issues and, in the case of the *Saeculares*, as in the case of the striking of silver denarii, the usurper attempted to get ahead of Diocletian and Maximian and thus probably opened the way to the idea.

Let us now study the known material concerning the *Saeculares*

The Cabinet de Médailles de Paris has a Maximian antoninianus in very poor condition, on the reverse of which is a column inscribed **COS...**, the legend around the edge is **SAECVLARES AVGG** and **MX** in the exergue.

The Lancié hoard, unfortunately very poorly catalogued by E. Lépaule, contained two antoniniani of this type, which allows us to complete the inscription on the column to **COS X**.

The interpretation can only be **COS** (for Constantius and Galerius) [**VOTIS**] **X M**[**VLTIS**] **XX**. One example of Constantius, probably the one in the Lancié hoard, is in Lyons Museum. The other example, for Diocletian, has disappeared, but E. Lépaulle made a sketch of it.

Another type with the legend **SAEVLARES AVGG** shows a column without inscription. with **MX** in the exergue (Diocletian, Vienna, Voetter collection no. 67266; Maximian, Vienna no. 23975) or **MX** in the field (Galerius, Lancié hoard, plate 14).

The latter example has the letter **D** in the exergue. Apparently this should be a **B *** but P. Le Gentilhomme concluded that "*the entire issue can be placed at the time of the decennialia of 293, immediately before the transfers of officinae C and D from Lyons to Trier*". This conclusion is completely wrong, as we now know. (* The drawings of the dies based on the work of E. Lépaulle have several serious errors: no. 10 (**VNDIQVE VICTORES**) is shown with an M in the exergue instead of an A; some letters A are incorrectly written; no. 11 (**AVSPIC FEL / PTR** mintmark) is shown with a **P** in the right field instead of a **D**; no. 13 (**CLARITAS AVGG / PTR** mintmark) is shown with an **L** in the right field instead of a **C**.)

The **SAEVLARES** are therefore clearly associated with the **VOTA** issues of the Augusti.

These antoniniani as well as those with **VOT X M XX** within a wreath, being the *Vota X soluta* and the *Vota XX suscepta*, are simply *Vota XX suscepta*.

The series differs from the 293 series which were only inscribed with **VOTA X**. They are also of a different style, have different legends and there is an absence of consular busts for Diocletian and Maximian.

The antoniniani with the **AETERNITAS AVGG** reverse showing an elephant walking left, being led by a mahout, are very rare and in addition, they are unknown for Constantius. There are quinarii of this type for both Augusti.

On the other hand, the antoniniani with **ROMAE AETERNAE**, are only known for Constantius.

All in all, the issue does display some communal characteristics: short titles on the obverse, a clear homogenic engraving style despite the introduction of new engravers, poor style in engraving the legends. In this series we find no consular busts at all of the Augusti but, on the other hand, consular busts of Galerius and Constantius on the reverses **ORIENS AVGG** (C and G), **PAX AVGG** (G), **VIRTUS AVGG** (Trophy) (C), **COMES AVGG** and **ROMAE AETERNAE** (C).

So this issue cannot be dated to 293, but it can be dated to 294.

However, there is nothing against the *Vota XX suscepta* having been inscribed on coins during the course of 294, the tenth year of the reign lasting from 17th. September 293 to 17th. September 294.

The result of this logical dating is that Lyons' officinae C and D must have been transferred to Trier only in the first months of 294. It was, in effect, only during the course of this last issue of Lyons that one notes a considerable slowing down of the activity of the third officina and none during the issues of 293.

We also need to discuss the conclusions of Herbert A. Cahn's excellent work "*Die Trierer Antoniniani...*". His classification of the Trier issues invites no criticism whatsoever and can only be definitively accepted.

We must also allow that the Lyons engravers didn't intervene in the Trier mint until during the course of the second issue from that mint. But H. A. Cahn wishes to insert the Trier issues between the nomination of the Caesars and the end of the year 293.

Now, in the first series with **PT** in the exergue, there is an antoninianus with a Constantius consular bust which allowed Cahn to reject the idea of any issues in 294. The certain date of the first Lyons series in 294, the certainty that the third officina was transferred to Trier during the course of the same issue, can only confirm this opinion.

From that, it appears evident that the striking of antoniniani, denarii and quinarii at Lyons are in rapport with the *Saeculares* and to the **VOT X M XX** date of 294.

During the same years, Trier issued its own antoniniani.

Under these conditions, and if one agrees that the striking of antoniniani ended with the issue of folles, then the monetary reform could not have been put into place at any time other than at the end of 294 or the beginning of 295.

CATALOGUE

In order to keep the catalogue compact, neither the die rotation, nor the weight of antoniniani is given. The average weights are however, fairly constant. Here are the weights of coins in mint condition or in excellent condition:

- a) Issue of 293 AD, up to the *Decennalia*: 73 coins, average weight 3.89g
- b) Issue of late 293 (**I, II, III** in exergue): 51 coins, average weight 3.84g
- c) Issue of 294 (**A, B, Γ** in exergue): 73 coins, average weight 3.70g

BUST TYPES

- A1 Radiate, draped, cuirassed bust seen 3/4 from the front
- A Radiate, draped, cuirassed bust seen 3/4 from the back. (Frequently used for Diocletian and seems to have been reserved for him. Very rare for Maximian)
- B Radiate, cuirassed bust right
- B1 Radiate, cuirassed bust left
- C Radiate, helmeted, cuirassed bust right
- C1 Radiate, helmeted, cuirassed bust left
- D Radiate, helmeted, cuirassed bust left, holding spear
- E Radiate, helmeted, cuirassed bust left, holding spear and shield
- F Radiate, cuirassed bust left holding shield, and sceptre over right shoulder
- F1 Radiate, cuirassed bust left holding shield, and spear over right shoulder
- F2 Radiate, cuirassed bust left holding shield
- G Radiate bust left, with lion skin, club over right shoulder
- H Radiate bust left wearing imperial mantle ("consular bust")
- H1 Radiate bust left wearing imperial mantle ("consular bust"), holding globe
- H2 Radiate bust left wearing imperial mantle ("consular bust"), holding eagle-tipped sceptre.

COLLECTIONS (abbreviations used)

- ANS American Numismatic Society
- BM British Museum
- Br Brussels, Coin collection of Bibliotheque Royale
- CMP Cabinet de Médailles de Paris
- CP Private collection
- H Den Haag, Koninklijk Kabinet
- K Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet
- Ly Lyons Museum
- O Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
- R Rome, National Museum (Gnecchi collection)
- W Vienna, State Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY (abbreviations)

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 Ger O. Voetter, *Katalog Sammlung P. Gerin* (1921)
 Gnechi: F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani* (1921)
 RIC P. H. Webb, *RIC V, part II* (1933)
 V O. Voetter, *"Die Kupferprägungen der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie"*, 1901

ISSUES, beginning of 293 - 1st March 293

Note: Legend breaks could not be determined in many cases, are quite varied and do not seem to follow any particular rules. They are omitted from the original document.

Three Officinae A, B, C - symbols: ★, ∪

1st series - no officina letter, symbols ★∪ in exergue.

1	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	IOVI AVGG, Jupiter seated left, holding Victory on globe and sceptre			C. 169, RIC 34, V -
2	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	PAX AVGG, Pax standing left, holding Victory on globe and sceptre			C. 369, RIC -, V p. 58, W., Ly.
3	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A1	ditto			C. 369, RIC -, V p. 58, W.
4	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto			C. 366, RIC -, V p. 58, CMP, W., R.

2nd series - officina letter A, B, C in the field or in the exergue, symbols ★∪ in the field or in the exergue. New reverses.

FIRST OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
5	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A1	PM TRP VIII COS IIII P P, Radiate lion walking left, thunderbolt in jaws	A*		C -, RIC 4, V. p. 58, W, R.
6	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A1	ditto	A*		C. 383, RIC 5, W, Ly, V. p. 58, BM, CP, ANS
7	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	B	ditto	A*		C. 383, RIC 5, W, Ly, V. p. 58, BM, CMP
8	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	A*		C. 471, RIC 344, V -, W
9	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	A*		C. 469, RIC -, V -, CMP
10	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	C	PAX AVGG, Minerva standing left, holding spear and palm, resting on shield	A*		C -, RIC 62, V. p. 60, W.
10b	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto	*A		H
11	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto	A	* left	C 362, RIC 63, V. p. 60, BM, W, Br., K, CP
12	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto	*	A left	BM, W, CP
13	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto	*A		W, Ly.
14	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto		*A	Ger. p. 162, no. 53
15	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto	A	crescent left	W.
16	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	E	ditto	A	* left	C. 364, RIC 63, V, Ly.
17	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	A	* left	C. 427, RIC 104, V. p. 60, CMP, W, Ly.
18	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	*	A left	V. p. 60
19	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	*A		V. p. 60, W.

SECOND OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
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20	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	A1	PM TRP VIII COS IIII P P, as no. 5	*B		C -, RIC 344, V-
21	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	*B		C. 471, RIC 344, W, V. p. 59
22	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	B*		V -, BM
23	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	B*		C. 469, RIC 345, V p. 59, CMP, BM, W, K, ANS
24	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	B*		C. 470, RIC 345, V -
25	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	PAX AVGG, as no. 10	crescent	B left	C 362, RIC 63, V. p. 60, W.
26	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	ditto	*B		V. , BM
27	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	B	crescent left	C 427, RIC 404, V. p. 61, BM, R, Br, CP
28	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	crescent	B left	V. p. 61, CMP, BM, W, H, Ly.
29	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	E	ditto	crescent	B left	C 430, RIC 404, V -, BM, CP

THIRD OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
30	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H1	PAX AVGG, as no. 10	C	* left	C 428, RIC -, V-, BM, CP
31	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H2	ditto	C	* left	C.-, RIC -, V. p. 60

ISSUE 1st MARCH 293 - SEPTEMBER 293

Three officinae, A, B, C and symbols thunderbolt, club

1st Series a) Still using the crescent ☾ symbol of the previous issue

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
32	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	A1	CONCORDIA AVGG, two Concordia each holding a cornucopiae, shaking hands	B ☾		C -, RIC -, V -, Ger. p. 170, no. 1

1st Series b) horizontal thunderbolt or club, in the exergue only where associated with C.

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
33	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	PROVIDENT DIOR, Providentia standing left, holding a sceptre, pointing with a rod to a globe at her feet	thunderbolt		C 237, RIC 635, V p. 61, CMP, BM, W, Ly, CP
34	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	CONCORDIA AVGG, as no. 32	club		C 19, RIC 678, V p. 61, CMP, BM, W, CP
35	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	VIRTVS AVGG, Hercules standing right, holding bow	club	C left	C 580, RIC 450, V p. 61, W.
36	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	HERCVLI AVGG, ditto	club	C left	C 229, RIC -, V -, W.
37	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	PAX AVGG, as no. 10	club	C left	C 427, RIC 404, V p. 61, BM, W, Ly.
38	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	E	ditto	club	C left	C 430, RIC 404, V p. 61, BM, W, R, CP
39	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	PROVIDENT DIOR, same type as no. 33 but Providentia seated	club	C left	C 238, RIC 636, V p. 61

Denarii of the series:

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
40	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG thunderbolt. jugate busts right of Diocletian (laureate) and Jupiter	see prev. column	IOVI AVGG, as no. 1			C 170, RIC 112, BM, 2.75g

40b	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG club , jugate busts right of Diocletian (laureate and cuirassed) and Hercules	see prev. column	AEQVITAS, the three Moneta standing left, each holding scales and a cornucopiae	AVGG		C12, RIC -, CMP, 2.26g, Collection Dr. Nicolas: 2.21g
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2nd Series: Officina letters A, B in the exergue, C in the exergue or in the field, sometimes no mintmark.

FIRST OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
41	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	PROVIDENT DEOR, as no. 33	A		C 401, RIC -, V -, CP
42	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	A		C 400, RIC 74, V -, BM, R
43	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C 237, RIC 635, V -, CMP, BM, W, Ly, CP
44	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto			CP.
45	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	PROVIDENT DEOR, as no. 39	A		C 238, RIC 636, V p. 61, BM, W, Ly.
46	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C 182, RIC 690, V -,
47	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	PAX AVGG, as no. 10	A		C 362, RIC 63, V p. 60, CMP, BM, W, Br. CP
47b	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	H2	ditto	A		C -, RIC 63, ANS
48	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	C	ditto	A		C 427, RIC -, V p. 60, BM, W, R, Br, Ly, CP

SECOND OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
49	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	PROVIDENT DEOR, as no. 39	B		C 480, RIC 413, V p. 61
50	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 238, RIC 636, V -, BM.
51	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM, ditto type	B		C 244, RIC 637, V p. 61, BM, W.
52	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	CONCORDIA AVGG, as no. 32	B		C 25, RIC -, V -, W.
53	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 19, RIC 678, V p. 61, CMP, BM, W, K, Ly. CP
54	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	C	PAX AVGG, as no. 10	B		C 362, RIC -, Ly.

THIRD OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
55	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	VIRTUS AVGG, Hercules standing left holding palm branch, club and lionskin		C left	C 581, RIC -, V p. 61, W, CP
56	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	PAX AVGG, as no. 2	C		C 162, RIC -, V -, CMP

Quinari of this issue:

57	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur., dr., cuir. right	HERCVLI AVGG, Hercules standing left holding club & lionskin in left hand, with his r. hand gathering apples from the Garden of the Hesperides			C 228, RIC -, Gnechi -, W. (ex Trau Collection. 1.30g)
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ISSUE OF THE DECENNALIA, 17TH SEPTEMBER 293

No mintmark or C in exergue

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
58	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	H2*	VOTIS X, the two Augusti sacrificing at altar			C 532, RIC 109, V -.

59	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	H2	ditto	C		C -, RIC 110, V -, BM
60	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	H2	VOTIS dot X dot, as 58			BM, W.
61	DIOCLETIANVS AVG	H2	VOTIS X, as 58			C 533, RIC 111, V -.
62	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto			C -, RIC 466, V p. 55
63	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	H2	ditto			C 671, RIC 466, V. -, W
64	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H	ditto			C 669, RIC 467, V. p. 57, W, CMP, CP
65	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H1	ditto			C -, RIC -, V -, W, R
66	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H2	ditto	C		C 670, RIC -, V. p. 55, BM, W, CP, CMP
67	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H2	ditto			C 670, RIC 467, V. p. 55, BM, W, R, KH, ANS, CP

*: holding plain sceptre or sceptre surmounted by eagle

Denarii and Quinarii of this issue

Denarii

68	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur. cons. bust l., holding globe	VOTIS DECENNALIBVS, rev. type as 58			C 668, RIC -, Gnechi III, p. 83, 60
69	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	ditto	VICTORIA AVGG, Victory standing right, inscribing VOTIS X on a shield			C 541, RIC -, Gnechi III, p. 82, 46, CMP: 2.40g

Quinarii

70	MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur. head right	VICTORIA AVGG, Victory standing right, inscribing V X on a shield			C -, RIC -, Gnechi -, BM: 1.42g, Coll. Claudius Côte: 1.52g
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ISSUE END OF 293

Mintmark I, II, III in exergue

FIRST OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
71	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	PROVIDENT DEOR, as no. 33	I		C 401, RIC -, V p. 62
72	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	I		C 403, RIC -, V p. 62
73	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	I		C 479, RIC -, V p. 62
74	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	I		C 237, RIC 635, V p. 52, W.
75	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	I		C 181, RIC 689, V p. 52, CMP
76	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	IOVI AVGG, as no. 1	I		C 171, RIC 33, V p. 62, W, CP,
77	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	I		C 169, RIC -, V p. 62, CMP, BM, W, Br, K, ANS, CP
78	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	A1	ditto	I		C 324, RIC 385, V-.
79	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	I		C 324, RIC 385, V-.
80	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	I		C 323, RIC 386, V p. 62, W
81	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	I		C 152, RIC 629, V p. 62, CMP, H, Ly, CP
82	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	I		C 115, RIC 679, V p. 62

SECOND OFFICINA

Note: It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between A and II, because the dies were poorly engraved. Especially the IOVI AVGG can be the subject of such mintmark confusion, because these had also been struck for the 292/293 issue.

(Note from Dane: For coins 83ff, Bastien has a spelling mistake of CONCORDIA AVGG instead of the correct CONCORDIA AVGG. Corrected in this translation)

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
83	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	CONCORDIA AVGG, as no. 32	II		C -, RIC 17, V -, W.
84	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	II		C 25, RIC -, V p. 63
85	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	II		C 44, RIC 354, V p. 63, W.
86	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	II		C 43, RIC 355, V p. 63, W., BM, CP.
87	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	II		C 15, RIC 628, V p. 63, CMP, W, K, ANS
88	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	II		C 19, RIC 678, V p. 63, CMP, W, CP.
89	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	PROVIDENT DEOR, as 33	II		C 401, RIC 73, V -, BM
90	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	II		C 400, RIC 74, V-, CMP
91	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	II		C 237, RIC -, V-, K, ANS, CP
92	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	II		C 181, RIC -, V -, W, K, Ly.
93	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	PROVIDENT DEOR, as 39	II		C 402, RIC 75, V p. 63, CMP
94	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	II		C 403, RIC 76, V p. 63, W.
95	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	II		C 481, RIC 412, V p. 63
96	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	II		C -, RIC 414, V -, O.
97	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	II		C 480, RIC -, V p. 63, CMP, W, Ly, CP
98	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	II		C 238, RIC 636, V p. 63, CMP, W, K, ANS, Ly, CP
99	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	II		C 182, RIC 690, V p 63, CMP, BM, K, CP
100	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	IOVI AVGG, as no. 1	II		C 152, RIC -, V -, BM
101	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	VIRTUS AVGG, Hercules standing right, holding bow, and leaning on club	II		C 575, RIC -, V -, CMP

THIRD OFFICINA

102	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	PROVIDENT DEOR, Providentia seated	III		C 403, RIC -, V -, Ly
103	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	CONCORDIA AVGG, as no 32	III		C 43, RIC -, V -, CMP
104	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 15, RIC 628, V -, CP
105	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ADVENTVS AVGG. the two Augusti on horseback right, both raising right hand	III		C 6, RIC -, V p. 62, CMP, W
106	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H2	ditto	III		C 5, RIC -, V -, CMP, W
107	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	A	PAX AVGG, as no. 2	III		C 369, RIC -, V -, CP
108	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	ditto	III		C 366, RIC -, V -, W, Ly.
109	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	III		C 448, RIC -, V -, CMP, W
110	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	III		C 438, RIC 399, V p. 63, CMP, BM, W, Br, K, Ly, CP
111	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 214, RIC 632, V p 63, CMP, W, Ly

112	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 162, RIC 687, V p. 63, W, Ly
113	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 213, RIC 633, V -
114	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	SAECVLI FELICIT, Felicitas standing facing, leaning on column, looking right,	III		C 508, RIC 416, V p. 63, CMP, W, Br
115	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C -, RIC 640, V p. 63
116	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 269, RIC 641, V -
117	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	SALVS AVGG, Salus standing right, feeding a serpent in arms	III		C 516, RIC -, V p. 63, CMP, W, K, Ly, CP
118	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C -, RIC 642, V p. 63
119	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	VIRTVS AVGG, as no. 101	III		C -, RIC 98, V p. 63, WCP
120	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	B	ditto	III		C 577, RIC 452, V -, CMP
121	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	A1	ditto	III		C 575, RIC -, V -, W -, Ly
122	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	III		C 574, RIC 453, V p. 63, CMP, W, Ly
123	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 295, RIC 646, V p. 63
124	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	III		C 210, RIC -, V, CMP, W
125v	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	VIRTVS AVGG, Mars standing left, holding olive branch and spear (no shield)	III		Vienna Voetter coll. 67463,
125	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	VIRTVS AVGG, Mars standing left, holding olive branch and spear, shield before him	III		C 555, RIC 447, V p. 63, CMP, W, Ly, CP
126	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	H2	ditto			C 556, RIC 447, V p. 63, CMP, W, CP
127	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A	VICTORIA AVGG, reverse type ?	III		Voetter 63, citing Banduri without description of the reverse

ISSUE OF 294

Three officinae, A, B, Γ, the latter scarcely active.

FIRST OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
128	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A1	PAX AVGG, Pax standing left, holding palm branch and transverse sceptre	A		C 374, RIC 69, V -.

SECOND OFFICINA

129	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	A1	PAX AVGG, as no. 128	B		C 374, RIC 69, V -.
130	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ditto	B		C 434, RIC 407, V -, W, CP
131	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	SECVRIT AVGG, Securitas standing left, legs crossed, leaning on column, right hand to head	B		C 528, RIC 425, V .

132	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	B	ORIENS AVGG, Sol standing left between two captives, holding globe, right hand raised,	B		C -, RIC 394a, V -, BM
133	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	H2	ditto	B		C -, RIC 682, V -, W.
134	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A	ROMAE AETERNAE, Roma seated left on shield, holding sceptre and Victory on globe	B		C 257, RIC 638, V p. 61
135	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	LAETITIA AVGG, Laetitia standing left, holding wreath and rudder	B		C -, RIC -, V -, Ly.
136	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 129, RIC 680, V p. 64

THIRD OFFICINA

137	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG *	B	AEQVITAS AVGG, Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae	Γ		C 11, RIC -, V -, Ly.
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* On this probably unpublished coin, the reading of the gamma seems certain, even though the reverse itself is very worn. However, if the letter is in fact a T, then this antoninianus must be dated to 290 and the issue is that which used I in the centre and P, S or T in the exergue, for which there is a coin with this reverse from officina T.

2nd Series - Short titles

FIRST OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
138	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	SALVS AVGG, Salus standing right, feeding serpent	A		C 441, RIC -, V p. 65, BM, Ly.
139	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	A		W., Ly.
140	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	A		C 525, RIC 423, V p. 65, R.
141	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	A		W., Br, CP.
142	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C 274, RIC 643, V. p. 65
143	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	PAX AVGG, Pax standing left, holding sceptre in her right hand and palm branch in left	A		C -, RIC 70, V p. 65, W, ANS.
144	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	A		BMC, CP
145	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	A		C 436, RIC 408, V p. 65, W, K.
146	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C -, RIC 634, V p. 65, ANS.
147	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C -, RIC -, V -, Ly.
148	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	H2	ditto	A		C -, RIC -, V -, R.
149	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	PAX AVGG, Pax standing left, holding palm branch and transverse sceptre	A		C 376, RIC 70, V p. 65, CMP, W, R, Ly, CP.
150	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	A		CMP, Ly, CP.
151	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	A		C -, RIC 408, V p. 65, CMP, W, R, H, Ly.
152	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	A		W, Ly, CP, ANS
153	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C -, RIC 634, V -, CMP
154	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C 161, RIC 688, V p. 65, CMP
155	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	PAX AETERN, Pax walking left, holding palm and sceptre	A		C 356, RIC 61, V p. 65, CMP, Ly

156	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	A		CMP, W, K,
157	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	C	ditto	A		C 357, RIC 61, V. p. 65, W.
157v	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	C	ditto but PAX EATERN	A		C 358, CMP, W, R, (Gnecchi coll.), Br,
158	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	as 155	A		C 425, RIC 395, V -, Montboup 168, W.
159	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	E	ditto	A		C 426, RIC 395, V -.
160	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C -, RIC 686, V -, O.
161	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	ABVNDANT AVGG, Abundantia standing right, emptying a cornucopiae	A		C -, RIC 9, V p. 64, CMP, W, Ly.
162	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	A		K, C, P.
163	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	E	ditto	A		C 5, RIC 9, V p. 64
164	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	A		C 1, RIC 346, V. p. 64
165	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	A		CMP, Ly, W.
166	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	C	ditto	A		C 2, RIC 346, V. p. 64
167	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C 1, RIC 675, V. p. 64
168	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	VNDIQVE VICTORES, soldier standing left, holding sceptre and Victory on globe	A		C -, RIC -, V. -, R.

SECOND OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
169	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	VIRTVS AVGG, Mars standing left, leaning on shield, holding sceptre	B		RIC -, V. p. 65, W.
170	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	B		C 558, RIC 449, V. p. 65
171	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	B		W.
172	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 294, RIC 647, V. p. 65, CMP, W, Ly
173	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 211, RIC 692, V p. 65, CMP, W, Ly
174	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	VIRTVS AVGG, trophy between two captives	B		C 302, RIC 648, V p. 65, CMP
175	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	H2	ditto	B		C 303, RIC 648, V p. 65, CMP, BM, Ly
176	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	VNDIQVE VICTORES, as 168	B		C -, RIC 431, V p. 65
177	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 324, RIC 645, V p. 65, CMP
178	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C -, RIC -, V -, CMP
179	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	SECVRIT AVGG, as 131	B		C 450, RIC 79, V p. 65, W.
180	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	B		CMP, BM, Ly, H.
181	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto			C 527, RIC 426, V -, CMP, CP
182	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 276, RIC 644, V p. 65, CMP, W, K, Ly, ANS, CP

183	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 194, RIC 691, V p. 65, CMP, W, K, Ly, ANS
184	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	ORIENS AVGG, Sol standing left, right hand raised, left holding whip	B		C 354, RIC 60, V p. 64, W.
185	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	B		W.
186	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	B		C 422, RIC -, V. p. 64, W.
187	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 210, RIC 631, V p. 64, CMP, BM, W, R, ANS, Br. Ly
188	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	E	ditto	B		C -, RIC 631, V -
189	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	H2	ditto	B		C 211, RIC 631, V p. 64, W, Ly
190	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 155, RIC 684, V p. 64, CMP, W, K, Ly, ANS, CP
191	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	H2	ditto	B		C -, RIC -, V -, Ly
192	MAXIMIANVS NOB C (see note)	A1	ORIENS AVGG, as 132	B		C 158, RIC 683, V p. 64
193	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	H2	ditto	B		C 159, RIC 683, V p. 64, BM, W.
194	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	LAETITIA AVGG, as 135	B		C -, RIC 59, V p. 64, W
195	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 165, RIC 630, V p. 64, CMP, W, Ly
196	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 130, RIC 681, V. p. 64, CMP, BM, W, Ly
197	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	COMES AVGG, Minerva standing left, holding spear and resting on shield	B		C -, RIC -, V p 64
198	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	B		C 37, RIC -, V -, CMP, R.
199	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	B		C 12, RIC 627, V p. 64, CMP, BM, W, Ly
200	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	H2	ditto	B		C 11, RIC 627, V p. 64, BM
201	MAXIMIANVS NOB C (see note)	A1	ditto	B		C -, RIC 677, V p. 64, CMP, BM, W, Ly, Br, CP
202	MAXIMIANVS NOB C (see note)	H2	ditto	B		C -, RIC 677, V p. 64

192: Webb notes a reverse ORIENS AVGG with Sol holding a globe instead of a whip (RIC 685) citing to Cohen 156-157 who in turn is citing Banduri. Voetter describes the Sol type as holding a whip and the type with globe and captive. In fact only these two versions seem to exist: Sol holding whip and raising right hand, and Sol holding a globe, raising right hand, between two captives.

201-202: Cohen describes these coins as having the improbably obv. legend MAXIMIANVS NC

THIRD OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
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203	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	ABVNDANT AVGG, as 161	Γ		C 4, RIC -, V. p. 64
204	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	ditto	Γ		CMP
205	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	Γ		C 1, RIC 346, V -, Gerin coll. p. 168, no. 77
205v	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	Γ		K.
206	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	C	ditto	Γ		C 2, RIC 346, V p. 64, CMP, W
207	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	C	ditto	Γ		W. CP

SAECULARES AND VOTA

This list obviously does not belong to a special issue. It is only meant to simplify the demonstrate the very varied types of coins struck in 294.

Coins mentioning the Saeculares and Vota are listed under the second officina, where they were probably struck (ref. no. 220)

FIRST OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
208	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	AETERNITAS AVGG, elephant walking left, led by a mahout	A		C 11, RIC 13, V. p. 64, CMP
209	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	A		C 22, RIC 349, V. p. 64
210	MAXIMIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	B	ditto	A		CMP
211	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	ditto	A		C 9, RIC 676, V. p. 64

SECOND OFFICINA

No.	Obv. legend	Bust	Reverse	In ex.	left/right	References
212	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	AETERNITAS AVGG, as 208	B		C 9, RIC -, CMP
213	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ROMAE AETERN, as 134	B		C 254, RIC 639, V. p. 65, W, R, Ly
214	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	H2	ROMAE AETERNAE, Roma seated left, holding Victory on globe and resting arm on shield	B		C 258, RIC -, V. p. 65, Ly
215	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	SAEVLARES AVGG, cippus inscribed COS X	MXX		C -, RIC -, Lancié hoard Pl. 5
216	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	MXX		C 507, RIC -, V -, CMP
217	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	A1	ditto	MXX		C -, RIC -, V -, Lancié hoard Pl. 12, Ly.
218	DIOCLETIANVS dot P dot F dot AVG	A	SAEVLARES AVGG, cippus no inscription	MXX		C -, RIC 78. V p. 65, W
219	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto	MXX		C -, RIC 415. V p. 65, W
220	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	SAEVLARES AVGG, cippus. MXX in the field	B		C -, RIC -, V -, Lancié hoard Pl. 14.
221	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG	A	VOT X M XX within wreath			C 535, RIC 108, V p. 65, W, Ly.
222	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	B	ditto			C 678, RIC 468, V p. 65, CMP, W.
223	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	A1	VOT X M XX			C 243, RIC -, V -, CMP, Ly.

THIRD OFFICINA

223	MAXIMIANVS PF AVG	C	AETERNITAS AVGG, as 208	Γ		C -, RIC 350, V p. 64
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Denarii and Quinarii of this issue

Quin. 225	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur, dr, cuir. bust right	SALVS AVGG, Salus standing right, feeding serpent			C -, RIC -, Gneccchi -, Ly (1.90 g)
Quin. 226	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur, dr, cuir. bust right	PAX AVGG, as 149			C -, RIC -, Gneccchi -, Ly (1.55 g)
Quin. 227	MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur. head right	SECVRIT AVGG, Securitas standing left, holding spear and resting arm on column			C -, RIC 254 (Rome), Gneccchi -, BM (1.91 g)
Den. 228	MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur, dr, cuir. bust facing	SAEVLARES AVGG, elephant walking left, led by a mahout			C 506, RIC -, Gneccchi -, BM (2.13 g), Ly (2.90 g)
Den. 229	DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG (see note)	laur. head right	AETERNITATI AVGG, Sol standing left, holding globe, right hand raised			C -, RIC -, Gneccchi -, Greau sale no. 4950 -> Trau coll. 2267 -> Basel sale 1954 no. 460 (3.89 g), Cote collection (3.32 g)
Quin. 230	DIOCLETIANVS AVG	laur. head right	AETERNIT AVGG, as 208 (see note)			C 12, RIC -, Gneccchi III 78, 41, Trau coll. 3322 (1.75 g)
Quin. 231	MAXIMIANVS AVG	laur. head right	AETERNIT AVG, as 208	MXX		C 20, RIC -, Gneccchi III 81, 35, CMP (1.57 and 1.06 g), Naples, Basel sale 1954 461 (1.16 g)

Den 228: The examples in Lyons and the British Museum were struck using the same dies

Den 229: Misdescribed in Cohen as DIOCLETIANVS AVG. The example in the Cote collection has dots separating the abbreviations on the obverse

Quin 230: Cohen misread the rev. legend as AETERNITAS AVGG, but an examination of the ex-Trau collection piece in Vienna shows that this is clearly AETERNIT AVGG.

